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Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 OMB-01 ACDA-10 /103 W
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P R 101341Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8627
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASYY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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GENEVA FOR WISNER

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH PRESS ON GENEVA TALKS, DECEMBER 10

1. THE RHODESIA CONFERENCE IS PROMINENTLY COVERED TODAY. THE GUARDIAN LEADS WITH A STORY HEADED "U.S. HELP SOUGHT ON RHODESIA". OTHER STORIES SUGGEST THAT DR. KISSINGER IS APPARENTLY DETERMINED TO MAKE A LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO SAVE THE TALKS AND THAT A NEW ANGLO-AMERICAN APPROACH IS EXPECTED.

2. FINANCIAL TIMES AFRICA CORRESPONDENT BRIDGET BLOOM: "...KISSINGER...ARRIVES IN LONDON TODAY APPARENTLY DE-TERMINED TO MAKE A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO SAVE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA FROM COLLAPSE. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT DR. KISSINGER, WHOSE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA EARLIER THIS YEAR PRODUCED THE CONDI-TIONS FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, COULD RETURN TO AFRICA I
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IT WAS FELT THAT THIS COULD BREAK THE RHODESIAN DEADLOCK.

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WHETHER OR NOT HE--OR OTHER US OR EVEN BRITISH OFFICIALS--
GO TO AFRICA WILL DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME OF CRUCIAL
MEETINGS TODAY AND OVER THE WEEKEND WHEN (KISSINGER) IS TO
MEET...CALLAGHAN,...CROSLAND, AND...RICHARD.... LONDON
AND WASHINGTON APPEAR TO AGREE THAT WITHOUT A MAJOR DIP-
LOMATIC EFFORT THE CONFERE CEWMMMIS IN DANGER OF TOTAL
COLLAPSE. HOWEVER, DIFFERENCES COULD EMERGE THIS WEEKEND
AS TO THE NATURE OF THE EFFORT NOW REQUIRED.... AS FAR
AS CAN BE JUDGED, BRITISH MINISTERS WOULD LIKE (KISSINGER)
TO REFORMULATE THE SO-CALLED KISSINGER PLAN, ENDEAVORING
TO ENJOIN MODERATION ON THE AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS AND
THEIR BACKERS...IN RETURN FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY FROM
MR. SMITH.... IT IS FELT THAT ONLY DR. KISSINGER COULD
DO THIS SINCE ONLY HE AT THIS STAGE HAS THE NECESSARY
INFLUENCE ON...VORSTER.... THE LIMITATION ON THE POWER
OF DR. KISSINGER, WHO HAS ONLY FIVE WEEKS LEFT IN
OFFICE, ARE RECOGNIZED. BUT IT IS NOT FELT THAT...
CARTER WOULD OBJECT TO SUCH AN INITIATIVE, IF ONLY BE-
CAUSE SUCCESS WOULD MEAN ONE LESS PROBLEM TO CONFRONT THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION...."

3. GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT PETER JENKINS: "AMERICAN HELP
IS NOW DESPERATELY NEEDED TO BREAK A GROWING DEADLOCK AT
THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA.
WHAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN A PRIMARILY SOCIAL LAST OFFICIAL
VISIT TO BRITAIN BY DR. HENRY KISSINGER IS NOW THOUGHT TO
PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR IMPORTANT TALKS AT THE
FOREIGN OFFICE THIS AFTERNOON.
MR. IVOR RICHARD, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE, HAS
BEEN RECALLED FOR THESE TALKS. HE FLEW BACK LAST NIGHT,
CONVINCED THAT RENEWED PRESSURE FROM WASHINGTON ON MR.
IAN SMITH AND ON SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER, MR. JOHN VORSTER,
WAS NECESSARY TO SAVE THE CONFERENCE.
HE REACHED THIS CONCLUSION AFTER TWO COMPLETELY UN-
PRODUCTIVE TETE-A-TETE CONVERSATIONS WITH MR. SMITH, WHO
ARRIVED BACK IN GENEVA ON WEDNESDAY. MR. SMITH EAPPEAR-
ED AS HIS OLD OBDURATE SELF. THE SUCCESS OF THE CON-
FERENCE HAD ALWAYS DEPENDED ON HIS WILLINGNESS TO BE
FLEXIBLE ON DR. KISSINGER'S "FIVE POINTS."
AMERICAN OBSERVERS EXPRESSED DOUBTS LAST NIGHT ABOUT
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HOW MUCH REAL HELP DR. KISSINGER COULD OFFER AS A LAME
DUCK SECRETARY OF STATE. THEY SAW VIRTUALLY NO PROSPECT
OF HIS FLYING OUT TO GENEVA OR REPEATING HIS SOUTHERN
AFRICAN SHUTTLEWM
THE BRITISH ARE A LITTLE MORE HOPEFUL THAT DR.
KISSI GER CAN MOUNT SOME FURTHER PRESSURE ON MR. SMITH
AND MR. VORSTER. THEY ARE ENCOURAGED IN THIS HOPE BY
CLEAR SIGNS THAT THE ##

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NOTE BY OCT: ## OMISSIONS; CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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GENEVA FOR WISNE

TED BY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION. SINCE THEN MR. VANCE
HAS BEEN NAMED AS DR. KISSINGER'S SUCCESSOR."

4. GUARDIAN EDITORIAL: "IN AFRICA (KISSINGER) CAN STILL
SPEAK FOR THE PRESIDENCY BECAUSE HIS POLICY AND MR.
CARTER'S COINCIDE. IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT ABOUT THAT
MR. CYRUS VANCE CAN JOIN HIM ON HIS NEXT SHUTTLE, BECAUSE
ANOTHER SHUTTLE MAY BE NEEDED.
THERE IS ROOM FOR DOUBT WHERE MR. VORSTER NOW STANDS.
HE HAS ENDORSED MR. SMITH'S READING OF THE SURRENDER
TERMS, THUS ENCOURAGING HIM TO GO ON DEMANDING THEM. AND
THERE IS NO SIGN THAT HE IS APPLYING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

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BUT HIS SPOKESMEN STATE HIS INTEREST TO BE STILL WHAT IT WAS: A REGIME TO HIS NORTH, BE IT SMITHIAN OR MARXIST, MALIGNANT OR BENIGN, WITH SOME PROSPECT OF PERFORMANCE. BUT AGAIN, A CIVIL WAR IN ZIMBABWE WOULD DO HIS POSITION AT HOME NO HARM BECAUSE HE COULD USE IT FOR ILLUSTRATIVE PURPOSES. PRETORIA'S ATTITUDE WAS IMPORTANT AT THE
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TIME OF THE KISSINGER-VORSTER MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 19, AND IF IT HAS CHANGED GENEVA CHANGES WITH IT. IN BLACK AFRICA, TOO, ANY WILLINGNESS TO SMOOTH THE TRANSITION FROM WHITE TO BLACK SEEMS TO HAVE VANISHED, IF EVER IT EXISTED. DR. KISSINGER'S MOMENTARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONTINENT WAS ENOUGH TO DESTABILIZE MR. SMITH BUT NOT TO PUT ANYTHING CREDIBLE IN HIS PLACE OR PROVIDE A MEANS OF DOING SO. HIS MISSION IS NOT YET ACCOMPLISHED."

5. TIMES GENEVA CORRESPONDENT: "ANY FINAL HOPE THAT THE RHODESIA CONFERENCE COULD REACH AGREEMENT HERE BY THE TARGET DATE OF DECEMBER 20 WAS ABANDONED YESTERDAY. THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME, UNLESS EMERGENCY TALKS IN LONDON BE-TWEEN...KISSINGER...AND BRITISH MINISTERS SUCCEED IN PRO-DUCING A NEW FORMULA THIS WEEKEND, IS ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THE NEW YEAR."

6. DAILY TELEGRAPH CORRESPONDENT DAVID ADAMSON IN GENEVA: "A FRESH APPROACH BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO THE AFRICAN "FRONT LINE" PRESIDENTS IS NOW VERY MUCH ON THE CARDS IN AN EFFORT TO PREVENT DEADLOCK AT THE GENEVA CON-FERENCE ON RHODESIA.
WHEN MR. IVOR RICHARD, THE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN, BRIEFS MR. CALLAGHAN AND DR. KISSINGER TODAY IN LONDON HE WILL PRESENT THEM WITH A DILEMMA.
IS THE CONFERENCE TO CONTINUE TO LURCH ON ALONG THE LINES LAID DOWN IN LAST SUMMER'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY AT THE RISK OF A DISASTROUS BREAKDOWN, OR SHOULD THERE BE AN ADJOURNMENT LONG ENOUGH TO ALLOW FOR FRESH CONSULTATIONS AND NEW THOUGHTS?
UNDER THE KISSINGER THEORY OF NEGOTIATION, AGREEMENT EMERGES FROM THE CRUCIBLE ONLY WHEN THE TEMPERATURE IS WHITE HOT. BUT IN GENEVA THE MOOD IS SULLEN RATHER THAN FURIOUS."

7. NEW STATESMAN EDITORIAL: "THE WHOLE POINT OF THE KISSINGER DEAL AND THE SUBSEQUENT GENEVA TALKS IS THAT THE RHODESIAN FRONT HAS ADMITTED DEFEAT IN NAME.... THER ARE SEVERAL STEPS WHICH COULD BE TAKEN AT ONCE. THE FIRST WOULD HAVE TO BE THE APPOINTMENT OF A (BRITISH) GOVERNOR-GENERAL."
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8. ECONOMIST EDITORIAL: "CAN OUTSIDERS HELP TO GET THINGS MOVING (ON A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT)? MR. KISSINGER ...BELIEVES SO AND WAS DUE TO TELL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HOW IN LONDON.... THE EANLE IN WAITING...TO TRY TO BREAK THE LOGJAM IS THAT THE BLACK GROUPS HAY DRIFT NOT CLOSER BUT FUTHER APAT AND THAT MR. SMITH MAY BE PROVOKED INTO PULLING OUT.... THE DANGERS IN THAT COURSE OF EVENTS FAR OUTWEIGH THE DANGERS, REAL THOUGH THEY ARE, THAT IOME WITH BRITAIN'S LIMITED ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT POWER IN RHODESIA. IT IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD."

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